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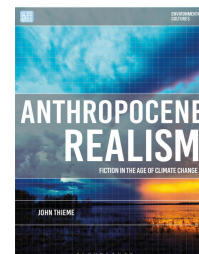
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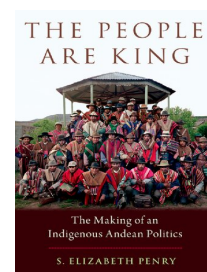
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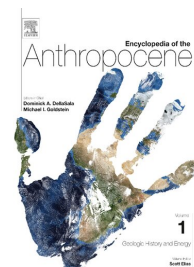
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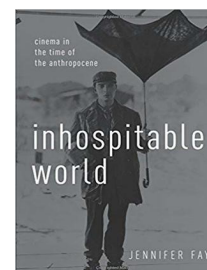
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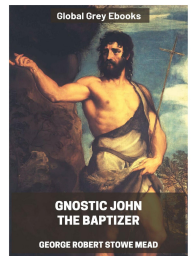
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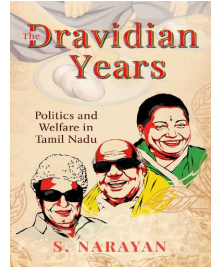
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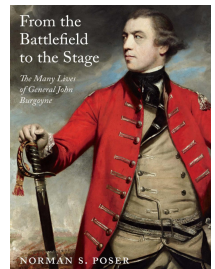
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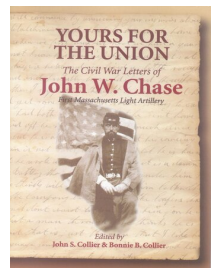
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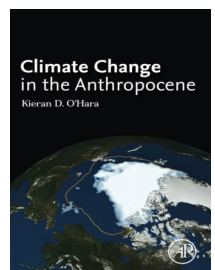
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The Politics of the Anthropocene

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John S. Dryzek

Jonathan Pickering

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■ PREFACE

The Anthropocene is an emerging epoch of human-induced instability in the Earth system. The challenge the Anthropocene presents to humanity is profound, meaning that in future all politics should be first and foremost a politics of the Anthropocene. We are of course a long way from that happening, as the world seems stuck with institutions, practices, and modes of thinking that were appropriate in the Holocene—the epoch of around 12,000 years of unusual stability in the Earth system, toward the end of which modern institutions such as states and capitalist markets arose. The purpose of this book is to move us a bit closer to making all politics a politics of the Anthropocene. At issue are not just particular institutions, values, and practices, but how we think of a modern world in which we are no longer estranged from the processes of the Earth system, and in which systems once categorized as non-human can be joined in a more productive relationship.

Ours is not the first book on the Anthropocene, or indeed on its specifically political implications. However, we offer here something that we believe earlier treatments miss. Some of them are still a bit stuck in modes of thought, and menus of options, developed under Holocene conditions. Others are quick to rush to prescriptions without really coming to grips with the depth of the challenge. Others still have a sophisticated understanding of the Anthropocene that is not matched by a sophisticated understanding of how governance does and can work. And yet others do not truly come to grips with the dynamic conditions of the Anthropocene that render any institutional proposal unstable, no matter how attractive it might seem. We will try to do better. We have tried to make the treatment accessible (and if there are places where we have not altogether succeeded, that may be explained by the complexity of the issues we are dealing with).

Preliminary versions of parts of this book or its whole were presented at the Workshop “On the Scale of Worlds: Technoscience and Global Governance” in the Program on Science, Technology and Society, Harvard University, 2014; the Democracy Fellows Seminar in the Ash Center, Harvard University, 2014; the 2015 and 2017 annual conferences of the Earth System Governance Project, in Canberra and Lund respectively; the Arne Naess Symposium at the University of Oslo, 2016; the International Ethics Research Seminar organized by Toni Erskine in Canberra, 2017; the Ecological Democracy workshop held at the University of Sydney, 2017; the conference of the European International Studies Association in Barcelona, 2017; the conference of the Australian Political Studies Association in Melbourne, 2017; the

Environmental Politics, Policy and Learning seminar in the Department of Political Science at Stockholm University, 2017; the Sydney Conference on Environmental Justice at the University of Sydney, 2017; the Australasian Aid Conference at the Australian National University, 2018; the convention of the International Studies Association in San Francisco, 2018; and in seminars of our own Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra.

For advice and comments on draft chapters or precursor papers, we thank Karin Bäckstrand, Christian Barry, Robert Bartlett, Andrew Dobson, Christian Downie, Sonya Duus, Victor Galaz, Peter Haas, Clive Hamilton, Marit Hammond, Stephen Hobden, Sigrid Hohle, Sheila Jasanoff, Jonathan Kuyper, Michael Mackenzie, James Meadowcroft, Richard Norgaard, Odin Lysaker, Åsa Persson, Stuart Pickering, Dominic Roser, David Schlosberg, Will Steffen, Hayley Stevenson, Dina Townsend, and Steve Vanderheiden. Annika Hernandez helped with formatting figures. We would also like to thank all our colleagues in the Earth System Governance Project. Jonathan would like to thank John for his advice, inspiration and patience in what proved to be a highly enjoyable collaboration and an ideal introduction to the craft of book-writing. Jonathan would like to thank his family for their wonderful support and encouragement along the way. The need to write clearly about changes in the Earth system that will increasingly affect generations to come was never clearer than when having to explain the idea of Anthropocene to two primary-school-aged boys over breakfast. John thanks his family (which he sometimes forgets to do), and thanks Jonathan for the pleasure of the co-authorship.

This research was supported by Australian Research Council Laureate Fellowship FL140100154. Most of the work was done in the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance in the Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis at the University of Canberra. We are lucky to have such an excellent working environment, and such a fine group of colleagues and PhD students. Chapter 5 benefited considerably from background research undertaken by Sonya Duus on the process of negotiating the Sustainable Development Goals. John Dryzek did some of the early work while he was a Senior Democracy Fellow in the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation at Harvard University in 2014, and he thanks Archon Fung for being a great host.

We have used most of the text from John S. Dryzek, “Institutions for the Anthropocene: Governance in a Changing Earth System,” *British Journal of Political Science* 46 (4) (2016): 937–56, mostly in chapters 2 and 3, though it is heavily modified, reorganized, and occasionally redacted. In chapter 7 we have used a smaller amount of text from John S. Dryzek and Jonathan Pickering, “Deliberation as a Catalyst for Reflexive Environmental Governance,” *Ecological Economics* 131 (2017): 353–60.

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■ ABBREVIATIONS

CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBDR&RC	common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities
CCS	carbon capture and storage (or carbon capture and sequestration)
G20	Group of 20
HFCs	hydrofluorocarbons
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
IPBES	Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	non-government organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ppm	parts per million
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

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1 **Anthropocene: the good, the bad, and the inescapable**

For up to two billion years the dominant form of life on Earth consisted of anaerobic bacteria—microscopic organisms that survived without oxygen. Eventually (by about two billion years ago) one particular kind of bacteria—cyanobacteria that get their energy from photosynthesis and release oxygen as waste—had evolved and become so successful that they had managed to produce an oxygen-rich environment that was fatal to most of the existing anaerobic life on the planet.¹ This new environment pushed cyanobacteria themselves to the edge of extinction, for the Earth’s climate proved much cooler than in the past. The rest is history. Particular life forms can, then, transform the Earth system in ultimately self-destructive ways, and that now holds for human life forms.

Compared to the scale of what cyanobacteria did to the Earth system to their own eventual detriment, human impacts to date have been relatively minor. The main difference is that for cyanobacteria, it took millions of years to change the character of the Earth system to the point where their existence was imperiled. For humans, the transformations have come in a matter of decades. Cyanobacteria also had plenty of time to evolve into oxygen-tolerant forms, and eventually into what today we recognize as plants (and forms of the bacteria themselves that can tolerate oxygen are still with us). Humans don’t have any time at all on a geological timescale to evolve biologically. Our responses are limited to social change, which can involve culture, technology, economic systems, and governance (though there are those who have contemplated re-engineering humans; see Liao, Sandberg, and Roache 2012). The good news is that unlike cyanobacteria we have a capacity to reason through responses to planetary risks. The bad news is that so far we show few signs of exercising that capacity at all effectively.

In this book we will focus on the politics and governance of an emerging epoch of potentially catastrophic impact on the character of the Earth system that is coming to be known as the Anthropocene. Our point in starting with cyanobacteria rather than people is to highlight the sheer novelty of thinking about politics in geological time, and in Earth system terms. The Earth system

¹ The name “cyanobacteria” comes from their blue-green color; previously they were known colloquially as blue-green algae.

consists of the interrelated physical, chemical, and biological processes of the planet as a whole. It therefore encompasses all life, including human life, as well as planetary cycles involving carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus, water, and sulfur.

For nearly all of human history, the presence of the Earth system has not been recognized by political actors and thinkers, even if a few of them have thought about the importance of maintaining the environmental basis of human societies. It is still routinely ignored by most of them. And even those who do think something is amiss can be sidetracked by more immediate concerns: the next election, economic crashes, wars...

This will not do.

The Anthropocene

This lack of recognition of the Earth system is perhaps understandable given the unusually benign conditions under which recorded human history has taken place. Dominant forms of social organization (including political institutions) and the ideas that underpin, justify, and even criticize them were developed in Holocene conditions that are now fast disappearing. The Holocene is the recent epoch of around 12,000 years of unusual stability in the Earth system. The Pleistocene that preceded it was much more unstable, featuring occasional rapid global warmings and coolings.

The Anthropocene is an emerging epoch in which human influences become decisive in affecting the parameters of the Earth system, accompanied by the potential to generate instability and even catastrophic shifts in the character of the whole system ("state shifts") of the sort that are common in the planet's deeper history, but unknown in recorded human history. Catastrophic tipping points might stem from melting of the Greenland ice cap, or thoroughgoing tropical deforestation (Lenton et al. 2008). While climate change is the most prominent harbinger of the Anthropocene, other aspects of global environmental change may turn out to matter just as much, such as changes in the phosphorus and nitrogen cycles. For example, when waterways become excessively enriched with nutrients through run-off of phosphate-based fertilizers (a phenomenon referred to as eutrophication), oceans may lose the oxygen that marine organisms need to survive. The Anthropocene entails "an unintended experiment of humankind on its own life support system" (Steffen, Crutzen, and McNeill 2007: 614) as human activity changes the way the Earth system works.

The idea of the Anthropocene has in the past decade become increasingly accepted and disseminated by environmental scientists. The idea now has two of its own journals, *Anthropocene* and the *Anthropocene Review*, and has made its way into the mass media (beginning with *The Economist* in 2011) and

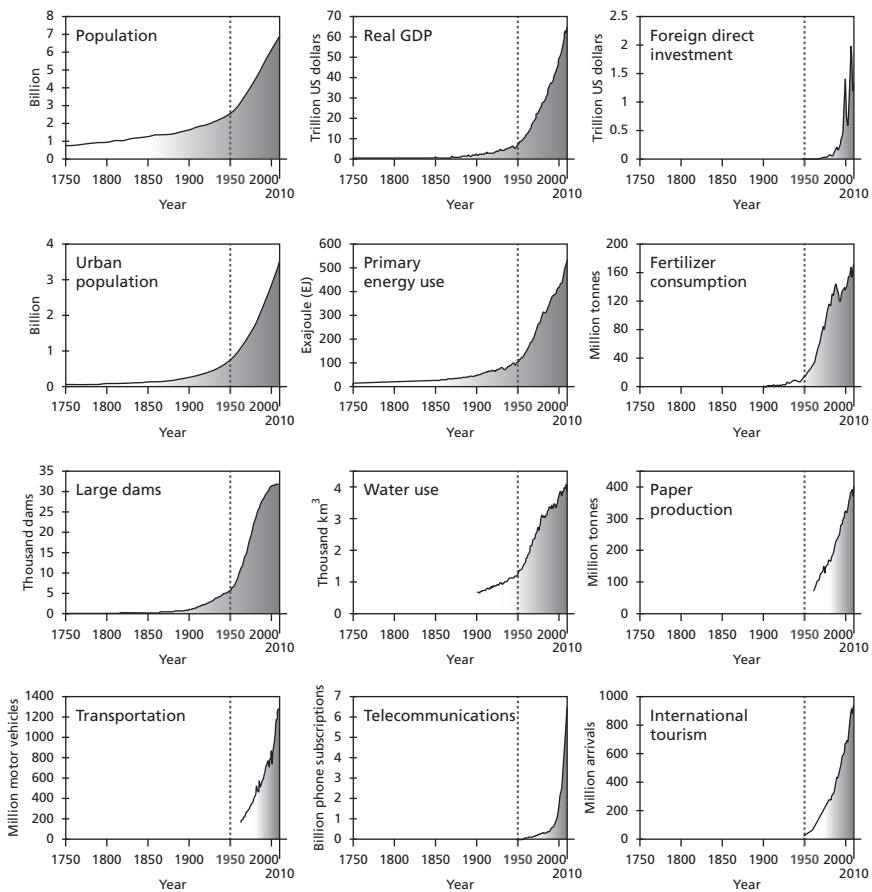
global conferences, including the United Nations Rio+20 summit in 2012 (for which a group of prominent scientists prepared a short video on *Welcome to the Anthropocene*). There is some debate about when the Anthropocene began. Candidates include the invention of agriculture, the Industrial Revolution (because it led to discernible increases in the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere), the European colonization of the Americas (because this changed species distribution on a vast scale), the first atomic bomb test (because it left an enduring radioactive signature). But pinning an exact date on the commencement of the Anthropocene does not really matter that much when it comes to thinking about how to respond to it. There is much to learn from past successes and failures in responding to environmental risks,² but it is not as though the challenge of the Anthropocene was ever conceptualized previously, nor has it received anything like an effective global response. What matters most is that we recognize we are now in it, and need to respond.

The Anthropocene only began to press itself on collective human attention in the 1950s, with what leading climate scientist Will Steffen and his co-authors call the “Great Acceleration” in human economic activity and environmental impact (Steffen, Broadgate, et al. 2015; see Figure 1.1). Aspects of this acceleration include the size of the global economy, investment flows, water and fertilizer use, and the number of motor vehicles. In 1945, the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere was just 310 ppm (parts per million), or 11 percent higher than its pre-industrial concentration of around 280 ppm. By 2016 it had increased to 401 ppm, or 43 percent higher than the pre-industrial level (Scripps CO2 Program 2018). Other indicators of ecological damage such as levels of nitrous oxide and methane in the atmosphere, ozone layer depletion, land conversion, and loss of forest cover and biodiversity reveal similar kinds of trends. In 2016 the Anthropocene Working Group of the International Commission on Stratigraphy emphasized the mid-twentieth century as the key transition point. Even though human influence can be traced back as far as the late Pleistocene (the epoch that preceded the Holocene) when hunters wiped out megafauna such as mammoths, the Working Group argued that “human activities only came to have an effect that was both large and synchronous, and thus leave a clear (chrono-) stratigraphic signal, in the mid-20th century” (Zalasiewicz et al. 2017: 57).³

² Bonneuil and Fressoz’s (2016) account of the Anthropocene is informative in this regard, although they date the beginning of the Anthropocene to the early industrial era.

³ The Working Group was unable to reach a majority opinion on the most suitable global stratigraphic signal to mark the beginning of the Anthropocene; the most commonly preferred option was plutonium fallout from nuclear testing (which is not itself an aspect of the Great Acceleration, even though it occurred at the same time as its onset), while other options include plastics and persistent organic pollutants found in geological deposits.

Socio-economic trends

**Figure 1.1.** The Great Acceleration

Source: Steffen, Broadgate, et al. (2015: 4, 6, 7).

It is only in the past few years that these sorts of developments have been conceptualized in an Anthropocene frame (starting with Crutzen and Stoermer 2000). But even within this frame many thinkers (some of whom we will encounter in this book) view the Anthropocene as just a multiplication of environmental challenges. If that is all it is, then it requires simply an intensification of the existing repertoire of responses, be they tighter curbs on greenhouse gas emissions, strengthening of national and global institutions for environmental protection and resource management, or more effective incentives for people to behave in environmentally benign fashion. The challenge is

Earth system trends

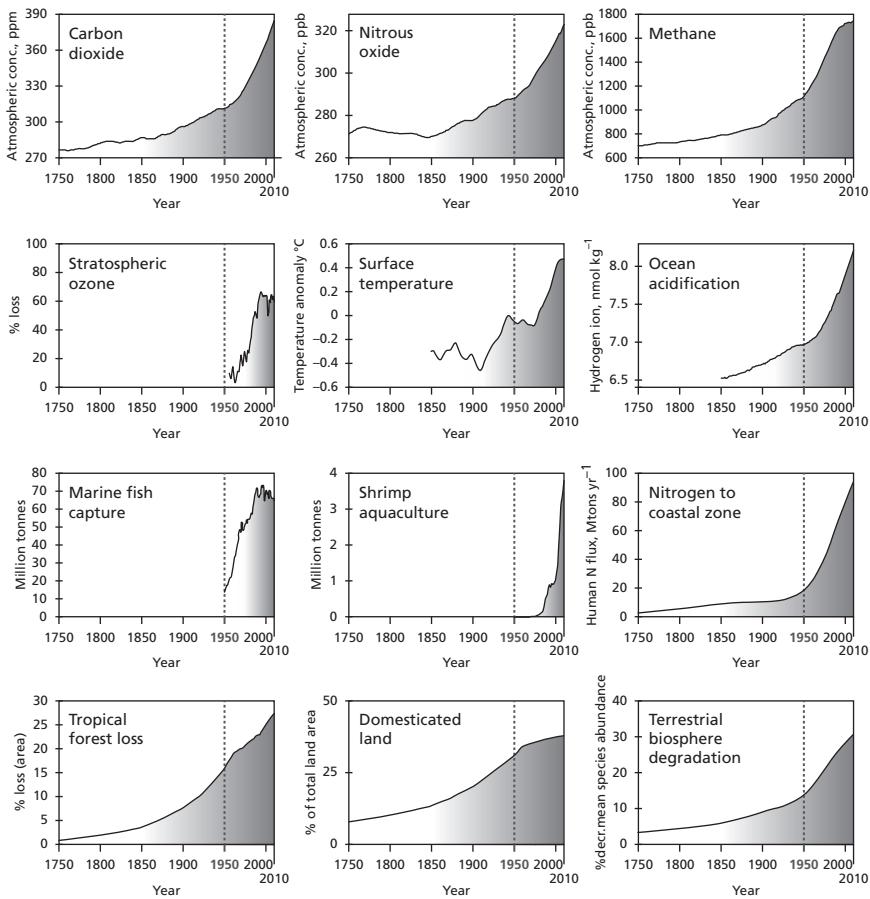


Figure 1.1. Continued

actually greater than that: the Anthropocene requires a “state shift” in the way we think about the place of the political economy in relation to the Earth system. So while it is the magnitude of human effects on the Earth system that drives the transition to the Anthropocene, it is not *just* their magnitude which is important. The transition is categorical, in the sense that what we now have is an Earth system whose core workings are affected by human activity. The Earth system and its non-human components have a much greater claim upon human institutions and practices than before—because that system is so thoroughly inflected with human forces inducing potentially catastrophic instability. The Anthropocene does, then, change the *content* of ecological concerns by putting humans at the heart of causal processes in the Earth

system. In highlighting the fact that the character of the system on which we depend is so vulnerable to human action, the idea of the Anthropocene also confirms that this system is not something out there demanding limited and occasional attention. Rather, the Earth system becomes a key player in how planetary history will unfold.

Some scientists upon encountering the Anthropocene view it through restricted disciplinary lenses. But, as Clive Hamilton (2016) points out, seeing the Anthropocene through lenses such as landscape ecology (which ignores oceans) or the geography of species distribution can lead to underestimation of the profundity of the challenge it presents. The Anthropocene ought to be apprehended in more comprehensive Earth system terms; it is possible to think of the Earth system as more than just “a collection of ecosystems” (Hamilton 2016: 94). Of course, what happens in particular ecosystems as illuminated by particular disciplinary studies is still important (Oldfield 2016); it just needs to be seen against the backdrop of the larger Earth system. Moreover, Earth system science must now involve social science in a serious way: the human social processes that social scientists study take on causal primacy in the Earth system of the Anthropocene, as it is those processes that drive changes in the parameters of the Earth system. And this is where we enter in this book.

Bad Anthropocene

Dalby (2016), echoing Sergio Leone’s classic Western, distinguishes good, bad, and ugly framings of the Anthropocene. If the Anthropocene were not attended by some actually and potentially bad consequences for both humanity and the Earth system, its arrival would deserve much less attention. It is possible to recognize its arrival but at the same time fight its implications. As Jamieson and Di Paola (2016: 267) put it, “one of the central tasks of politics in the Anthropocene is to restore stability to the Earth’s natural systems.” Yet the idea of restoring stability to natural systems is now misleading as a guide to action. To see why this is so, let us address the prominent concept of “planetary boundaries” that has been advanced by some of the same scientists who have disseminated the Anthropocene idea (Rockström et al. 2009). As we shall see, the implications of the two concepts may actually stand in some tension.

Planetary boundaries define what Rockström et al. call a “safe operating space” for humanity (see Figure 1.2). In their original formulation, there are nine boundaries that concern climate change, ocean acidification, stratospheric ozone, phosphorus and nitrogen cycles, atmospheric aerosol loading, freshwater, land use, biodiversity, and chemical pollution. The precise location of the boundary for each of these concerns is a judgment call. Thus for climate

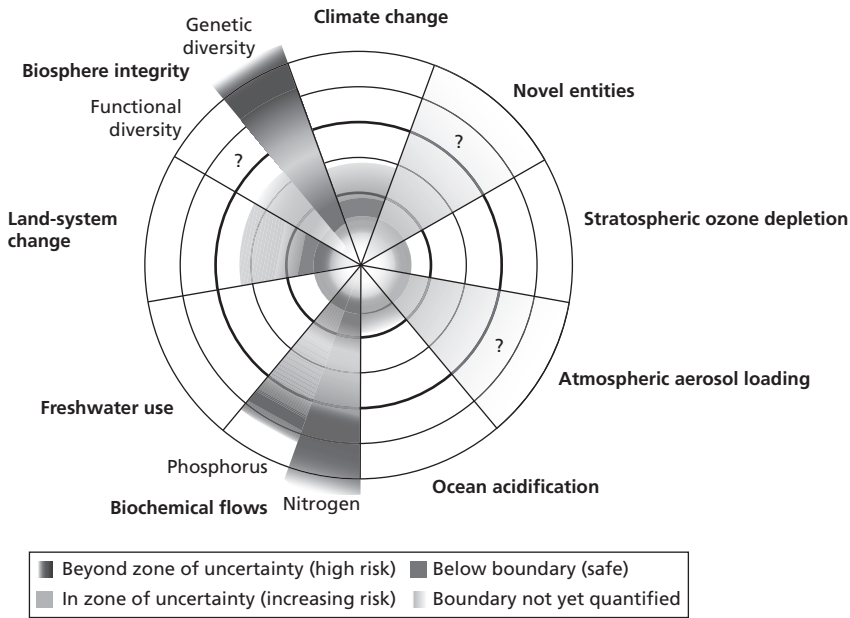


Figure 1.2. Planetary boundaries

Source: Steffen, Richardson, et al. (2015: 736).

change the original planetary boundaries statement specified that the boundary value is a concentration of 350 ppm of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. For stratospheric ozone, it is a 5 percent loss of ozone concentration from the pre-industrial level. For freshwater use, it is 4,000 cubic kilometers per year. As of 2009, when the concept was first published, three boundaries had already been exceeded: those for climate change, biodiversity loss, and the nitrogen cycle. In a 2015 update (Steffen, Richardson, et al. 2015), biodiversity loss was reconceptualized as biosphere integrity, and along with climate change identified as one of the two core boundaries meriting special attention. “Novel entities” (artificial substances and modified life forms) replaced “chemical pollution.” The boundary for land system use now appeared to have been exceeded.

It is possible to think of planetary boundaries in three ways. First, they can be seen as dramatizing the hazards of environmental destruction: when approached or transgressed they show that something is seriously amiss and that the well-being of the Earth system is threatened. In this light, they can complement the Anthropocene concept and its implications—notably, when it comes to the need to anticipate and prevent catastrophic state shifts in the Earth system. But in a second sense they suggest that if we stay within them (or, in the case of the four that have been violated, return to the safe level) all

will be well—or at least reasonably well. As such, they can be interpreted as a guide for how to avoid the more profound undesirable implications of the Anthropocene (Dryzek, Norgaard, and Schlosberg 2013: 117). In this light, the Anthropocene does not look like a thoroughly different and inescapable new epoch in the Earth system—rather it appears as a scenario that can be negated by intelligent collective action. Rockström et al. (2009) want planetary boundaries to be set at levels that would maintain Holocene conditions. This understanding of planetary boundaries shows how to resist the onset of the Anthropocene, but does not tell us much about what to do once we are in the Anthropocene in a major way. Indeed, as Löybrand et al. (2015) note, this understanding implicitly treats nature as though it were something external to human society, rather than something in which humans are now the driving force. At one level, proponents of a Holocene-based view of planetary boundaries recognize integrated social-ecological systems, and indeed insist that their analysis is grounded in complex systems thinking. But at another level their understanding of what might constitute stability remains inflected by understandings that pre-date recognition of such integration and interconnection.

If we are already in the Anthropocene, there is no turning back to stable Holocene conditions. So this second way of thinking about planetary boundaries is possibly misleading. For one hallmark of the Anthropocene is continual change, as existing human impacts on the Earth system play out—for example, even if greenhouse gas emissions were to cease completely today, inertia in the climate system means that the consequences of past emissions would still take decades to make themselves felt—and are joined by new ones. Moreover, as the proponents of the concept recognize, different boundaries interact. So for example catastrophic loss of biosphere integrity may suggest that other boundaries need to be tightened as well.

Accompanying continual change is uncertainty and the possibility of surprise. In the dynamic and unstable Earth system that the Anthropocene heralds, boundaries may lose their precision. If the imagery of planetary boundaries is used as a guide to avoiding the Anthropocene, it is too static in the fixed guideposts it provides. As we outline in chapter 5, if the idea of planetary boundaries is to play a constructive role in informing humanity's future, it would need to be recast in a third, dynamic way that is untethered from a Holocene baseline, where boundaries can be rethought and redrawn in response to advances in scientific knowledge and to changes in the Earth system and in societal perceptions of risk. It may be the case that with time societal tolerance of particular risks can change in different directions. Thus people may become more averse to risking climate change, or less averse when it comes to risking ozone layer depletion. Here it is not unreflective public opinion that should matter, but rather considered and informed social judgments. This position stands in contrast to those in the planetary boundaries community who think that boundaries should be non-negotiable—though we

recognize that these sorts of questions are debated within that community (Galaz 2014), and only some of its members take the “non-negotiable” position in which boundaries should be specified based solely on the best available science, rather than informed by considered public judgment.

The idea of avoidance and return to some historical baseline (be it valued for reasons of safety, aesthetics, or intrinsic worth) is embedded in the long-standing vocabulary of environmental concern. The words “preservation,” “conservation,” and “restoration,” now recognizable as Holocene concepts, all suggest there is some baseline condition of environments or natural systems that can be preserved, conserved, or restored. In the Anthropocene, the condition of the system is continually moving. We cannot rewind ecosystems back to a state untouched by humans. There are some regions of the planet—notably the oceans, Antarctica, Central Greenland, and the central Sahara desert—that remain barely inhabited by humans (Caro et al. 2012). Yet the accumulating impacts of climate change mean that no corner of Earth is spared from some degree of human influence. Given the long-term effects of greenhouse gas emissions on the Earth’s climate, this would remain true even if humans were to disappear overnight. Idealizations of unspoiled nature also can overlook the possibility that completely isolating wilderness from humans may not be beneficial either for humans, other species, or for wilderness itself (Cronon 1996; see also Wapner 2014). It is possible to reach deep into the pre-industrial past to find traditional ways of living that adopted a more integrated approach to humans and nature (Schmidt et al. 2016: 189). Thus for thousands of years before European occupation, Indigenous Australian peoples actively cultivated landscapes through fire and other strategies in order to maintain abundant wildlife and food (Gammage 2011). Some of these traditional practices have found new life in contemporary fire management while sequestering carbon in Australian landscapes and thereby mitigating climate change (Russell-Smith et al. 2017).

Recognition that we cannot turn the clock back to untouched ecosystems need not imply, as some would have it, the “end of nature” (for example, Vogel 2015). Nor does it mean that society should give up on setting aspirations, goals, or targets for environmental protection. Instead, it requires a capacity to rethink what nature means, embodying that capacity in institutions, and using that capacity to shape environmental policies that cultivate conditions for flourishing into the future rather than returning to the past.

Good Anthropocene

The idea of a “good Anthropocene” has gained some currency among commentators with substantial if not unbounded faith in the ability of humans

collectively to assert control over social-ecological systems to good effect. The idea is especially associated with the US-based Breakthrough Institute, and encapsulated in their *Ecomodernist Manifesto* (Breakthrough Institute 2015). This manifesto positions itself in contrast to an alleged environmental mainstream that fixates on gloom and impending catastrophe. Proponents of a good Anthropocene advance specific policy prescriptions in favor of high-density city living and efficient agriculture (in order to take as many people as possible out of ecosystems still styled as “natural”), genetically modified foods, and nuclear power. If necessary, geoengineering can be called upon to rectify or prevent damage to the Earth system—for example, by injecting sulfate aerosols into the upper atmosphere to block sunlight and so reduce global warming. Advocates of a good Anthropocene are mainly concerned to celebrate and advance the idea of benign human control over the natural world. They are certainly alive to the potential of human-induced environmental catastrophes involving climate change, ocean acidification, ozone layer depletion, and the like, but they believe the catastrophes can be averted and a bright future assured. The rhetoric emphasizes hope, optimism, and opportunity—not dire warnings.

Some of the specific policy proposals advanced by advocates of the good Anthropocene, such as expanding nuclear power and genetically modified agriculture, might be controversial in environmental circles—though a defensible case could also be made for them. What sets the idea of the good Anthropocene apart is perhaps the rhetoric—and the sense of reassurance it seeks to provide that all can be well, provided we craft the proper developmental path. What this kind of rhetoric downplays is the possibility of surprise, which is one of the hallmarks of the Anthropocene—crystallized in the idea of potentially catastrophic state shifts. We will argue in chapter 3 that a primary requirement of political institutions in the Anthropocene is the capacity to anticipate and prevent potentially catastrophic shifts in the Earth system. In addition, technological optimism can cloud the need to think in terms of social, political, and economic structures that have their own logic and momentum that will shape (for example) which technologies get adopted, and to what end. For example, genetically modified agriculture could mean feeding people more efficiently and reducing pressure to clear forests for farmland—or it could mean concentration of economic power in the hands of a few companies, the subordination of farmers in developing countries, and an environment thoroughly degraded by agrochemicals. Above all, in reasserting human domination—even if it is in the interests of leaving some of nature alone—the proponents of a good Anthropocene do not recognize the active role of “nature” itself, and the need to think in terms of social-ecological systems, rather than human systems and ecological systems separately. There is a need to listen to those systems more effectively—rather than either to engineer them or to leave them alone (which is the combination the

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Of the private men killed and wounded no return appears to have been preserved; but in the War-Office books the regiment is stated to have had forty-seven horses killed in this action.

Having passed the night after the battle on the field, the FOURTH HORSE followed for several days the rear of the defeated army, which repassed the Black Forest, and retired across the Rhine. On the 6th of September the regiment was at Kirlach; it passed the Rhine on the same day to attack some squadrons which appeared on the rising ground near Philipsburg; but, on the advance of the English horsemen, the French retreated across the Queich, and made preparations to defend the passage of that river: they, however, quitted their ground on the advance of the allies on the 9th of that month, on which day the FOURTH HORSE forded the stream, and were afterwards encamped on the banks of the little river Lauter, forming part of the covering army during the siege of *Landau*, a strong town situated in the beautiful valley near the Queich. After the surrender of *Landau*, which terminated this splendid and memorable campaign, the regiment commenced its march back to Holland, while the infantry sailed down the Rhine in boats to Nimeguen.

1705

The winter was again passed amongst the Dutch villagers; and in April 1705 the FOURTH HORSE quitted their cantonments, and marching to the vicinity of Maestricht, erected their tents in the early part of May on the banks of the Maese, near Viset, where they were reviewed by the Duke of Marlborough on the 14th of that month. Leaving this place on the following day, they marched in the direction of Coblentz, and from thence through a wild and mountainous country to Treves, and were encamped beyond that city on the 26th of May. After crossing the Moselle and the Saar, on the 3rd of June they passed through the difficult defiles of Tavernen and Onsdorf, following the course of the Roman causeway over the heights, then emerging into the more open ground towards Tettingen, continued their route to the vicinity of Syrk, where they passed the night under arms; and on the following day encamped on

the open grounds near Elft; at the same time the enemy occupied a strong position a few miles in advance. The Duke of Marlborough was desirous of carrying on the war in this direction, and the German Princes had agreed to co-operate with his grace; but their arrival was so long delayed that his designs were frustrated, and as the French were making rapid progress in the Netherlands, he was induced to quit his position and march to the assistance of the Dutch.

Accordingly, a little before midnight on the 17th of June, during a heavy rain, the army struck its tents, and the FOURTH HORSE, composing part of twenty squadrons destined to cover the movement, formed up to confront the enemy, while the army commenced the retreat, which was continued throughout the night without interruption from the French, and it re-crossed the Saar and the Moselle on the following day. On the 19th the retreat was resumed, and on the 25th the FOURTH HORSE and other cavalry arrived at Duren, in the duchy of Juliers. At the same time the French troops, near the Dutch frontiers, ceased acting on the offensive, and retired in a panic to Tongres.

After this long and difficult march, the FOURTH HORSE crossed the Maese near Viset, and were subsequently employed in covering the siege of *Huy*, which the enemy had retaken during the absence of the army up the Moselle.

The French army having taken refuge behind their fortified lines, the Duke of Marlborough, after the surrender of *Huy*, resolved to attempt to surprise them in their formidable barrier, the construction of which had employed the space of three years. He accordingly, by a skilful manœuvre, succeeded in dividing their forces and in drawing them from the point selected for the attack. About eleven o'clock on the evening of the 17th of July the FOURTH HORSE, forming part of the division destined to force the lines, left their camp ground and continued their march throughout an extremely dark night, until about four the next morning, when the heads of columns approached the works at *Neer-Hespen* and *Helexim*. The guards

were surprised and fled in a panic, the lines were forced and partly levelled, and the British horse were soon within the barriers; but before the regiments were formed, the Marquis d'Allegre appeared with fifty squadrons of cavalry and twenty battalions of infantry, and opened a cannonade from eight pieces of artillery. After the allied infantry had fired a few rounds, the Duke of Marlborough led forward the cavalry, which had passed the works, and the gallant British horsemen, by an impetuous charge, broke the enemy's ranks. The victorious squadrons afterwards sustained some loss from the fire of the enemy's infantry, but a second charge decided the combat; the hostile cavalry were routed and dispersed, several battalions of infantry were cut to pieces, many prisoners, standards, and colours were taken, and the FOURTH HORSE were once more triumphant over the legions of France and Spain.^[31]

After this brilliant success the FOURTH HORSE were engaged in several manœuvres, and marches along the fruitful plains of the Netherlands; but the opposition which the British commander met with from the Dutch generals proved detrimental to the future operations of this campaign. In the autumn the regiment was with the covering army during the siege of *Sandvliet*, and after the surrender of this place, marched back to Holland, where it was joined by a remount of men and horses from England.^[32]

1706

The FOURTH HORSE, with the other four English cavalry regiments on the continent, were now become a celebrated body of troops; and in April, 1706, when they again took the field, it is recorded that the officers and men looked forward with joyful anticipations to the events of another campaign. After traversing the province of Limburg, they joined the army at Bilsen, in the bishopric of Liege, on the 20th of May, and immediately afterwards advanced against the enemy.

On the morning of the 23rd of May the army was proceeding towards the Mehaine, and as the advance-guard, of which a

detachment of the FOURTH HORSE formed a part, arrived at the uplands near Mierdorp, the enemy were seen traversing the plain near Mont St. André, their right stretching beyond the village of *Ramilies* towards the Mehaine; and their magnificent army, composed of French, Spaniards, and Bavarians, commanded by the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Villeroy, was soon formed in order of battle. At the same time the allies made preparations for commencing the action, and the FOURTH HORSE took their station in the right wing of the army. About half-past one the battle commenced; but the British horsemen were kept in reserve until a decisive moment should arrive, when their well-known spirit and physical power would, it was expected, produce important results. The battle had lasted nearly three hours, when the Duke of Marlborough seized a critical moment to strike a decisive blow, and the British cavalry was brought forward. The *Fourth* and Seventh Horse, commanded by Major-General Wood, passed the little river Geete, and dashed along the plain on the right of the village of *Ramilies*, overthrowing all opposition, until they arrived at the rising ground behind the village of Offuz. The enemy was now in full retreat, and the two regiments went sweeping along the plain in pursuit until they arrived at the farm of Chantrain, where they overtook the Spanish and Bavarian Horse Guards, who, with the Elector and Marshal Villeroy at their head, were endeavouring to cover the retreat of their artillery. Having gained the enemy's left flank, the foaming squadrons of the FOURTH HORSE rushed upon the Spaniards and Bavarians, and, with one tremendous shock, broke their ranks in pieces! Then commenced the clash of swords, with all the uproar, strife, and turmoil of a close combat, while the Spaniards and Bavarians fell in numbers before the superior prowess of the victors; and the FOURTH HORSE took many prisoners, with the STANDARD^[33] AND KETTLE-DRUMS OF BAVARIAN GUARDS, and the Elector and Marshal Villeroy narrowly escaped.^[34]

After this noble exploit the FOURTH HORSE, having detached a party to the rear with the prisoners and cannon, continued the pursuit throughout the night until two o'clock of the following morning,

making additional captures of men, artillery, and ammunition waggons, until the troopers and their horses were exhausted with the extraordinary exertions and fatigues they had undergone. Thus was one of the best-appointed and most gallant armies which France ever brought into the field nearly destroyed, and the reputation of the British troops and their distinguished leader exalted; while the result of the victory was the deliverance from the power of the enemy of an extent of territory exceeding the most sanguine expectation.

After a few days' repose the FOURTH HORSE were detached with other troops to summon several towns and fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands; many places surrendered immediately, and renounced their allegiance to the Duke of Anjou; other towns, overawed by French garrisons, stood short sieges, but were captured before the end of the campaign, when the regiment went into quarters.

1707

Early in the spring of 1707 the losses of the FOURTH HORSE during the preceding campaign were replaced by a remount of 60 men and 94 horses from England;^[35] at the same time the regiment was again supplied with ARMOUR,^[36] and when it took the field it once more appeared as a corps of CUIRASSIERS. In the early part of the campaign it was encamped on the banks of the little river Sienne, and subsequently near Meldert. It was employed in several manœuvres designed to bring on a general engagement, which the French cautiously avoided. They ventured, for a short time, to encamp in front of the fortified lines which had served for a defence to their frontiers during the preceding war; but they made a precipitate retreat upon the advance of the allies, who continued in the field until the autumn, when they separated into quarters.

1708

The winter having been passed by the FOURTH HORSE amongst the hardy Belgians, they left Flanders in May, 1708, and proceeding to

the vicinity of Brussels were formed in brigade with the Duke of Schomberg's regiment (now Seventh Dragoon Guards), commanded by Brigadier-General Sybourg. They were afterwards engaged in several operations in Brabant and Hainault; while the enemy, taking advantage of the absence of the troops from Ghent and Bruges, obtained possession, by treachery, of these two towns, which had been the winter quarters of the English forces.

A series of movements at length brought on the battle of *Oudenarde*, which was fought on the 11th of July in the inclosures near the banks of the Scheldt.

During the early part of the action the five^[37] regiments of BRITISH CUIRASSIERS, having crossed the Scheldt by the bridge of boats, were stationed in reserve on the plain of Huerne, behind the right wing of the army, ready to charge when the moment for a decisive attack of the horse should arrive. Advancing from this post they supported the infantry engaged, manœuvring so as to sustain the line in front, and to be ever ready to execute a charge, while their presence held in check several French corps; but owing to the local peculiarities of the ground, which was intersected by hedges, ditches, and rivulets, darkness put an end to the conflict before these warlike horsemen, who panted for an opportunity once more to distinguish themselves, were called upon to engage in close combat. The French retreated in confusion during the night, and at daybreak the FOURTH HORSE, with several other corps, were detached in pursuit; some slight skirmishing occurred, and the French took refuge under the cannon of Ghent.

In the movements which followed this victory the FOURTH HORSE took part, and they were subsequently employed in protecting the battering cannon, with an immense convoy of military stores, which were sent from Brussels to the army. They also formed part of the covering army during the siege of *Lisle*, an important and formidable fortress, protected by a Marshal of France, Boufflers, with a garrison of 15,000 men, and everything requisite for a successful defence; at the same time Louis XIV. commanded an immense army to be

assembled for the purpose of raising the siege. But the allies, unmoved by the menacing manœuvres and threatened attacks of the enemy, prosecuted their purpose with vigour, and the vaunts of the French commanders evaporated in a short cannonade which produced little result.

The supplies of ammunition and provision for the besieging army having to be conveyed a considerable distance by land, the FOURTH HORSE were occasionally detached from the army to guard the waggons and cover their advance. In September an immense convoy, with ammunition and other necessaries, was despatched from Ostend under the charge of a guard commanded by Major-General Webb; at the same time the Count de La Motte advanced with 22,000 French troops to intercept this supply, on the safe arrival of which the fate of *Lisle* depended; and the FOURTH HORSE, with several other corps, were detached from the camp at Lannoy under Major-General Cadogan to the aid of the convoy. As the British squadrons approached the woods of *Wynendale*, a loud cannonade was heard; they instantly dashed forward, and the moment they arrived at the scene of conflict the French relinquished the attack, and the stores were conveyed in safety to the camp.^[38]

After the surrender of *Lisle*, the FOURTH HORSE marched to East Flanders, and were engaged in military operations until *Ghent* and *Bruges* were re-captured, when the regiment went into quarters; and the losses of the preceding campaign were replaced by a remount of ninety-seven men and seventy-one horses.^[39]

1709

After remaining in quarters in Flanders until June, 1709, the FOURTH HORSE advanced up the country and erected their tents on the plain of *Lisle*, near the banks of the *Deule*, where a vast and magnificent army, composed of the troops of several nations, extended its encampment in regular order over a large tract of country, and exhibited a fine spectacle of war. From this camp the FOURTH HORSE proceeded to the banks of the *Scheldt*, and formed part

of the covering army during the siege of the boasted impregnable fortress of *Tournay*, which surrendered in the beginning of September.

From the banks of the Scheldt the FOURTH HORSE moved with the army in the direction of *Mons*, the capital of the province of Hainault, with the design of wresting this important place from the power of France. But while the allies were on the march, the French army moved from its former post and took up a position near *Malplaquet*, at the same time increasing the natural strength of the post by entrenchments and other works. In this camp were collected the choicest troops of France, commanded by two celebrated Marshals, Villiers and Boufflers, and opposed to them the victorious Marlborough and Eugene headed the heroes of Blenheim and Ramilies, amongst whom were the celebrated British Horse under the chivalrous Lieut.-General Wood.

On the morning of the 11th of September (N. S.), after divine service had been performed at the head of the troops, the battle commenced with an animation and effect which indicated the ardour that prevailed in both armies. In the attack of the entrenchments, and in forcing the works, the cavalry could not take part, and for a time the services of the FOURTH HORSE were limited to supporting the attack on the left centre, where the enemy's position was eventually forced by the infantry. In the midst of the arduous struggle, and while the storm of war was raging with dreadful fury, the Duke of Marlborough led forward the five regiments of BRITISH CUIRASSIERS, commanded by Lieut.-General Wood, and the Prussian cavalry, against the renowned Gens d'armes of France, who were instantly routed and chased from the ground; but as the British and Prussian horsemen, who were somewhat broken by the charge, continued their victorious course and swept the field in triumph, they were met by a compact line of French cavalry, consisting of the Gardes-du-Corps, Light Horse, Musqueteers, and Horse Grenadiers of the royal household, led by Marshal Boufflers, and these distinguished troops succeeded in driving back the squadrons of the allies. The British horsemen were, however, only repulsed, not defeated: they soon

rallied again, and, glowing with zeal to encounter so celebrated an enemy, they returned to the charge, when their valour and prowess prevailed; and the French squadrons being driven from the field, the remainder of their army retired immediately afterwards, leaving the allies victorious, but with the loss of many men killed and wounded, and the pursuit was not continued beyond the village of Quievrain.

Thus ended a day in which the FOURTH HORSE acquired new honours. They were subsequently with the covering army during the siege of *Mons*, and after its surrender marched to East Flanders for winter quarters.

1710

The FOURTH HORSE, having been completed by another remount from England,^[40] marched out of their quarters in the beginning of April, 1710, and advanced to the banks of the Scheldt near Tournay, where the allied army, consisting of the troops of several nations, was assembled, and, according to the journals of that period, the BRITISH CUIRASSIERS made a noble appearance.

From this camp the FOURTH HORSE advanced at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th of April, and formed part of the column under Lieut.-General Cadogan, which, after marching all night, surprised the French guard at *Pont à Vendin*, and penetrated their fortified lines without opposition.

The siege of *Douay*, a strong town situate on the river Scarpe, was afterwards undertaken, and the FOURTH HORSE, forming part of the covering army, were engaged in several manœuvres and marches to counteract the operations of the enemy, who menaced the besieging force with an attack; but the superior tactics of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, with the bravery of their troops, prevailed, and *Douay* was surrendered on the 27th of June. After repairing the works, the army advanced towards the enemy, who, to avoid an engagement, retired behind their new lines of defence, when the allies directed their victorious arms against *Bethune*, and the FOURTH HORSE had their post in the besieging force

until the surrender of the place on the 29th of August. They were subsequently employed in covering the sieges of *Aire* and *St. Venant*, and after the termination of this successful campaign returned to Flanders, where they passed the winter in convenient quarters.

1711

Advancing from thence in April, 1711, they directed their march to the banks of the Scarpe, and were subsequently employed in several manœuvres before the French lines of defence until the enemy's troops were drawn to the left, when the Duke of Marlborough, by secretly assembling a body of troops at Douay, forced the lines at *Arleux* and invested *Bouchain*. The siege of this place was one of the most difficult enterprises undertaken during the war, and the FOURTH HORSE were fully employed in the multifarious services required, the lines extending for many miles, and the greatest care and vigilance being necessary. In September the place surrendered, and this regiment, after traversing the recently conquered territory, to its former winter station, went into cantonments.

1712

It again took the field with the army in the spring of 1712, and advancing to the frontiers, was prepared to enter France; when the Duke of Ormond, who now commanded the British troops on the continent, received orders to cease hostilities, as negotiations for a general peace had commenced. In the mean time the regiment had lost its Colonel, the distinguished and spirited cavalry officer Lieutenant-General Cornelius Wood, whose death was occasioned by the fall of his horse; and he was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Thomas Viscount Windsor, from the Tenth Horse, by commission, dated the 18th of May, 1712.^[41]

1713
1714

The FOURTH HORSE marched with the British forces from the French territory, and were encamped a short time in the vicinity of Ghent. They subsequently went into quarters, and these distinguished horsemen, after remaining on the continent until the treaty of Utrecht had given peace to Europe, were embarked for England, landed at the Red House near London in the beginning of April 1714, and having returned their CUIRASSES into store, proceeded to Northampton, Daventry, and Wellingborough. In the mean-time the establishment was reduced from 400 to 226 officers and soldiers.^[42]

On the decease of Queen Anne, in August of the same year, the regiment marched into quarters near the metropolis, where it remained until the arrival of His Majesty King George I. from Hanover, and afterwards proceeded to Gloucester and Tewkesbury. In October a squadron marched to Margate, and the remainder of the regiment was posted in detachments of two officers and twenty men each, between that place and London, to attend the Princess of Wales on her arrival. Her Royal Highness with the Princesses Anne and Amelia landed at Margate on the evening of the 11th of October, when they were received by a guard of the regiment, and on the following day they were escorted to Dorchester, where they were met by the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle and the Earl of Bridgewater, and were conducted to the metropolis by the FOURTH HORSE on the 13th of October.

1715
1716

The peaceful accession of His Majesty was followed by the most strenuous exertions of many of the partisans of the Pretender; and in 1715 they broke out into open rebellion under the Earl of Mar. The army was immediately augmented, and ten men per troop were added to the establishment of the FOURTH HORSE. Upon notice of a meditated rise at Bath, this regiment, with Sir Robert Rich's Dragoons, took possession of that city, where they seized a great quantity of arms. England was at this period in great danger from the prevalence of jacobite principles, and the animosity with which

two powerful parties in the state were arrayed against each other gave occasion for much alarm; but the staunch fidelity of the army overawed the disaffected, and the gallant troops who had so recently conquered the foes of Britain abroad, preserved the nation from the machinations of its enemies at home. The army, though on a reduced establishment, was in excellent condition, and the cavalry in particular was considered the best mounted of any troops in Europe.^[43]

1717

After the suppression of this rebellion the King of Sweden espoused the cause of the Pretender, and made preparations for a descent upon Britain; and the FOURTH HORSE, with several other corps, were placed under the command of Lieutenant-General Wills, and sent to the north. This regiment was quartered a short time at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the Colonelcy was given to Lieutenant-General George Wade, who had distinguished himself in the war in Spain, by commission dated the 19th of March, 1717.

The project of Sweden having been defeated by the exertions of the British fleet, the regiment returned to the south of England, and took the travelling escort-duty for the Royal Family: at the same time the establishment was reduced to twenty-five private men per troop.

1718
1719

In 1718 the FOURTH HORSE were quartered at Nottingham and Northampton; and in November 1719 they were stationed on the Essex road, to attend His Majesty from Harwich to London, on his return from Hanover.

1720
1722

In the following year they occupied dispersed cantonments in Oxfordshire; in 1721 they were quartered at Dorchester and

Salisbury; and in the summer of 1722 encamped near Andover, and afterwards on Salisbury Plain, where they were reviewed, with three other regiments of cavalry and seven of infantry, by His Majesty and the Prince of Wales, on the 30th of August. The camp was broken up in the beginning of October, when this regiment marched to Warwick and Coventry.

1724
1725
1726

During the summer of 1724 the FOURTH HORSE occupied quarters near London, and again performed the travelling escort-duty. They also furnished a party in constant attendance on the Prince and Princess of Wales. In the following year they occupied quarters at Stamford, Huntingdon, and Peterborough; and in 1726 at Warwick and Coventry.

1727
1728

On the accession of King George II., in 1727, the regiment marched to the vicinity of London, was reviewed by His Majesty in September of the same year, and was afterwards in attendance on the court until May 1728, when it returned to its former quarters at Coventry and Warwick.

1731
1732
1733
1734
1737

In January 1731 it was again on the King's duty, and was reviewed by His Majesty on Hounslow Heath in May of the same year. The two succeeding years were passed in country quarters, and in May 1734 it resumed its attendance on the Court. On the 29th of June following His Majesty reviewed the corps of Life Guards, when this regiment had the honour of furnishing the royal escort required on

the occasion. In November of the same year, having been relieved on the King's duty by the Royal Horse Guards, it marched to Nottingham and Derby, where it remained until April 1737, when it resumed its station at Coventry and Warwick.

1738

On the 5th of July, 1738, the FOURTH HORSE, and the Royal regiment of Horse Guards, were reviewed by His Majesty on Hounslow Heath, and their appearance and discipline were approved of by the King.

1740

1741

After the review the FOURTH HORSE marched into quarters in Staffordshire. During the summer of 1740 they were encamped near Newbury; and in 1741 formed part of a body of troops encamped on Lexdon Heath, near Colchester.^[44]

1742

1743

Towards the close of the summer of 1742 a British army proceeded to Flanders, to make a diversion in favour of the Queen of Hungary, whose dominions were overrun by the armies of France and Bavaria; but the FOURTH HORSE remained in England, and in the beginning of May, 1743, they marched into quarters near the metropolis, and resumed their duties of attendance on the Court. On the 17th of the same month one squadron was sent in pursuit of a number of deserters from Lord Semphill's (42nd) Highland regiment, a corps formed in 1739 of independent companies of infantry, raised in the Highlands, for service in the mountain districts during the disaffection which prevailed for some years in the north of Scotland.

The Highland regiment was designed for foreign service. In pursuance of this object it marched to the south of England, and on the 14th of May was reviewed by General Wade on Finchley Common, when the novelty of the scene attracted thousands of

spectators to view the unique costume of the corps, and its appearance and discipline were generally admired. After the review the Highlanders were ordered to Gravesend, to embark for Flanders, but, as many of the men had enlisted on the presumption that they would never be required to quit the kingdom, and a report being spread amongst them that they were designed for the West Indies, a country which, at this period, was considered as a charnel-house for Europeans, about 150 of them deserted with their arms, and proceeded in a body towards Scotland.

The squadron of the FOURTH HORSE sent in pursuit of the Highlanders overtook them in Northamptonshire; and on Sunday, the 22nd of May, surrounded them in Lady-wood, near Oundle, and shortly afterwards the horse were joined by a squadron of Churchill's Dragoons (now Tenth Hussars). The Highlanders were disposed to submit on condition of receiving a *free pardon*; at the same time they took possession of a strong post in the wood, and, being provided with ammunition, they declared their determination to resist to the last extremity, and be cut to pieces rather than submit on any other terms. Captain Ball, of the FOURTH HORSE, had an interview with them, and, after trying every remonstrance and persuasion in vain, he was obliged to leave them. He, however, gained over two of their number, who conducted him out of the wood, and, promising them both a free pardon, he induced one to return and endeavour to prevail upon the remainder to submit. Eventually the main body surrendered at discretion, and were conducted to the Tower of London, where three of their number were tried and shot, and the remainder were drafted to different colonies abroad. This event did not, however, prevent the embarkation of the Highland regiment for Flanders.

1744 1745

In the beginning of 1744 the FOURTH HORSE were ordered to send a draft of sixty men and horses to Flanders to be incorporated in the three regiments of horse on foreign service. At the same time

several additional corps were sent to the continent, but this regiment remained in the south of England until September 1745, when it was ordered to Nottingham; and on the receipt of information of the arrival of Charles Edward, eldest son of the Pretender, in Scotland, it marched to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where several corps were assembled under the command of Field-Marshal Wade. In the mean time the young Pretender was joined by several Highland clans, and, there being but few troops in Scotland to oppose his progress, he gained possession of Edinburgh, surprised and defeated several corps under Sir John Cope at Preston Pans, and afterwards penetrated into England. At the same time Field-Marshal Wade marched with the troops under his command, by Durham, Darlington, and Richmond, in order to cover Yorkshire, and the cavalry proceeded to Doncaster, where the FOURTH HORSE arrived on the 8th of December.

Information having been received of the advance of the Highlanders to Derby, and of their precipitate retreat from thence towards Scotland, an attempt was made to intercept them, but without success. The FOURTH HORSE were subsequently despatched, with some other corps, under Major-General Oglethorp, in pursuit, and, after marching a distance of 100 miles in three days, in most inclement weather, and along roads choked with ice and snow, the King's troops overtook and defeated the rear of the rebel army on the borders of Lancashire, and captured several prisoners; but the main body of the Highlanders escaped, and, having placed a garrison in Carlisle, continued their flight to Scotland. The FOURTH HORSE pursued the Highlanders to Carlisle, and were stationed near that city until its surrender on the 30th of December.

1746

In the beginning of 1746 the FOURTH HORSE marched to York, and, after the decisive overthrow of the rebel army at *Culloden*, the regiment furnished escorts to guard parties of prisoners to Lincoln, and other places, in which service it was partially engaged

throughout the summer; and in September it was stationed at Bristol.

The suppression of this rebellion having been effected, His Majesty resolved, as a measure of economy, to reduce this and two other regiments from the pay and quality of HORSE to that of DRAGOONS. The establishment was accordingly changed on the 25th of December, 1746, and, the pay of the non-commissioned officers and private men being reduced by this alteration, every man received a gratuity of three pounds, with the option of his discharge; and the men who accepted their discharge received fourteen days' pay each, to defray the expense of their journey home. The regiment was now armed with long muskets and bayonets, also with swords and pistols, as before. A slight alteration was at the same time made in the uniform;—the officers were distinguished by gold lace and embroidery on their regimentals, and a crimson silk sash worn over the left shoulder; the quarter-masters by gold lace, and silk sashes round their waists; and the serjeants by narrow lace on the lappels, sleeves, and pockets, and a worsted sash round the waist. When this change had taken place His Majesty conferred on the regiment the title of THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS, by a warrant dated the 9th of January, 1747, of which the following is a copy:—

1747

'GEORGE R.

'WHEREAS We have thought fit to order OUR OWN REGIMENT OF HORSE, commanded by Our trusty and well-beloved General Sir Philip Honeywood; THE QUEEN'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF HORSE, commanded by our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Lieutenant-General John Duke of Montague; and OUR REGIMENT OF HORSE, commanded by Our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, Field-Marshal George Wade, to be respectively formed into regiments of Dragoons, and their establishment and pay, as DRAGOONS, to commence the 25th of December, 1746: And,

'WHEREAS it is become necessary, by the said Regiments being formed into Dragoons, that their former titles as Regiments of Horse should be altered; We are hereby graciously pleased to declare OUR ROYAL WILL AND PLEASURE, that Our Regiment of Dragoons, now under the command of General Sir Philip Honeywood, shall bear the title of Our FIRST REGIMENT OF DRAGOON GUARDS; Our Regiment of Dragoons, now commanded by the Duke of Montague, the title of Our SECOND REGIMENT OF DRAGOON GUARDS; and Our Regiment of Dragoons, now commanded by Field-Marshal Wade, the title of Our THIRD REGIMENT OF DRAGOON GUARDS, and have rank and precedence of all other regiments of Dragoons in our service. Nevertheless,

'OUR FURTHER WILL AND PLEASURE is, that the said three Regiments of Dragoon Guards shall roll and do duty in Our army, or upon detachments, with Our other forces, as Dragoons, in the same manner as if the word GUARDS was not inserted in their respective titles.

'WHEREOF the Colonels above mentioned, and the Colonels of Our said Regiments for the time being, and all others whom it may or shall concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

'Given at our Court at St. James's, this 9th day of January, 1746-7, in the twentieth year of our reign.

'By HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND,

'H. FOX.'

The establishment of the regiment, with the rates of pay of each rank, is given in the following table, copied from the War-Office records.

THIRD REGIMENT OF DRAGOON GUARDS.

		Per Diem.		
		£.	s.	d.
STAFF OFFICERS.				
The Colonel, <i>as Colonel</i> , 15s.; allowance for servants 4s. 6d.			19	6
Lieut.-Colonel, <i>as Lieut.-Colonel</i>			9	
Major, <i>as Major</i>			5	
Chaplain			6	8
Surgeon			6	
Adjutant			5	
THE FIRST TROOP.				
Captain 8s.; 3 horses 3s.; in lieu of servants 4s. 6d.			15	6
Lieutenant 4s.; 2 horses 2s.; in lieu of servants 3s.			9	
Cornet 3s.; 2 horses 2s.; in lieu of servants 3s.			8	
Quartermaster, for himself and horse 4s.; in lieu of servants 1s. 6d.			5	6
3 Serjeants, each at 2s. 9d.			8	3
3 Corporals, each at 2s. 3d.			6	9
2 Drummers, each at 2s. 3d.			4	6
1 Hautboy			2	
59 Dragoons, at 1s. 9d. each for man and horse	5		3	3
Allowance to widows			2	
For clothing lost by deserters			2	6
For recruiting expenses			2	4
For agency			1	2
FIVE TROOPS MORE, of the same numbers	42		13	9
Total per Diem	£53		15	8
Total per Annum	£19,630		18	4

1748

The regiment, having thus been constituted the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS, was disposed in quarters at Leicester and Coventry, where it passed that and the following summer, and in the autumn of 1748 marched to Durham and Newcastle.

After the decease of Field-Marshal Wade, in February, 1748, the Colonelcy was conferred on the Honourable Charles Howard.

1749
1750

In the succeeding year the regiment was stationed at York and Barnard Castle; and in 1750 at Loughborough, Norwich, and North Yarmouth.

1752
1753
1754

In the spring of 1752 the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS furnished a relay of escorts to attend the King to Harwich, where His Majesty embarked for the continent, on a visit to his German dominions. During the remainder of that year, and in the two succeeding years, detachments of the regiment were employed on coast duty in Suffolk, Essex, and Devonshire. Owing to an increase of duty on several articles of foreign produce, smuggling had become prevalent to a great extent in England, and it was found necessary to have parties of dragoons constantly stationed in the maritime towns and villages to assist the officers of the revenue in preventing the introduction of contraband goods. At the same time a laxity of morals prevailed amongst the labouring classes; and, in the absence of an efficient police in the kingdom, parties of dragoons were employed to patrol the public roads for the prevention of highway robberies, which had become alarmingly frequent, and were often attended with acts of cruelty and even murder. From the ephemeral publications of the day it appears that organized gangs of robbers infested many parts of the kingdom at this period.

1755

In 1755 signs of an approaching war began to appear. The French committed several acts of violence against British settlements in America; retaliation was made by the English troops, and the French

were driven from the possessions they had seized. The British Court was disposed to an amicable arrangement of the existing differences; but such difficulties were raised by France, that his Majesty deemed it prudent to augment the strength of the regular army, and an addition of 1 corporal and 15 men was made to the strength of each troop of the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS: and subsequently a LIGHT TROOP, consisting of 3 officers, 1 quarter-master, 2 serjeants, 3 corporals, 2 drummers, and 60 private men, was added to the establishment.^[45] The general utility of light dragoons had been manifest in continental warfare; a regiment of light horse raised by the Duke of Kingston in 1744 had been highly instrumental in the suppression of the rebellion in Scotland; and from the autumn of 1755 light cavalry have constituted a portion of the British land forces.

1756

The aggressions of France in America were followed by a declaration of war; when the King of France made preparations for a descent upon England, which produced considerable alarm in the kingdom; but the designs of the enemy were frustrated by the warlike preparations of the British Government. In this year (1756) the establishment of the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS was 24 officers, 7 quarter-masters, and 427 non-commissioned officers and private men.

During the summer a detachment of the regiment was stationed at Kensington to assist the Life Guards in the performance of the travelling escort-duty for the royal family.

1757

In July, 1757, the regiment was encamped, with several other corps, on Salisbury Plain, under the command of Lieut.-General Hawley; and a brigade was there formed of the LIGHT TROOPS of several regiments, for instruction in the evolutions, and in services

peculiar to light cavalry. In autumn the regiment marched to quarters at Colchester, Malden, and Witham.

1758

The augmentation made in the naval and military establishments of the kingdom enabled the British Government to act offensively, and in the spring of 1758 the LIGHT TROOP of the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS was called upon to hold itself in readiness for actual warfare. In April it was ordered to encamp near Petersfield, where a brigade was formed of the light troops of nine regiments, under the command of Colonel Elliott, of the Horse Grenadier Guards. Towards the end of May the brigade embarked on board transports,—forming part of an expedition under Charles Duke of Marlborough, designed for a descent on the coast of France. On the 5th of June the Fleet arrived in Cancele Bay, on the coast of Brittany, and, having silenced a battery on the shore, part of the troops were immediately landed; when a battalion of French infantry and two troops of cavalry, posted on the heights near that place, retired without making opposition. On the following day the brigade of light cavalry and the artillery were landed; and on the 7th the whole (excepting three battalions of infantry left to cover the coast) marched to the vicinity of *St. Maloes*, and during the night the light cavalry, with detachments from the infantry, set fire to the shipping and naval stores at *St. Servan*, destroyed a fleet of privateers, with a man-of-war of fifty guns, and another of thirty-six, and afterwards retired. The capture of *St. Maloes* had been designed; but the expedition was not provided with troops and heavy ordnance sufficient for so great an undertaking; consequently that design was laid aside, and on the 11th of June the light cavalry were re-embarked. A second descent being rendered impracticable by severe weather, the fleet returned to England, and the light cavalry landed and encamped near Portsmouth and subsequently on Southsea Common.

A second visit to the coast of France was however determined on; and after several experiments had been made with flat-bottomed boats to ascertain the practicability of landing troops in rough

weather, the LIGHT TROOP of the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS was again embarked, and the expedition sailed on the 1st of August, under the command of Lieut.-General Bligh. After seven days the fleet anchored near *Cherbourg*; the troops landed,—the town surrendered,—the fortifications and works of the place with the shipping in the harbour were destroyed, and the brass ordnance were brought away as trophies of their success. A second descent was afterwards made on the coast of Brittany; but no advantage resulted from this enterprise; and when the troops re-embarked, the rear-guard was attacked by a considerable body of the enemy, and about 1000 men, with many officers of distinction, were killed, drowned, or taken prisoners.

In the mean time His Majesty's German dominions had been the scene of conflict and disaster; and a body of Hanoverian, Hessian, and Brunswick troops, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, had been subject to a capitulation, by which it was agreed that the Hessian and Brunswick forces should return to their homes, and the Hanoverians remain in a district assigned to them: at the same time the Electorate of Hanover was taken possession of by the enemy. The conditions of this capitulation were, however, violated by the French; the Hanoverians resumed their arms, and, with the Hessian and Brunswick troops, amounting to 30,000 men, all in British pay, re-assembled under the command of Prince Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick, and had the advantage in several actions with the enemy. In July a British force was ordered to proceed to Germany, under the command of Charles, Duke of Marlborough, and the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS were ordered for this service.

Previous to embarking they were encamped on Blackheath, on a fine lawn in front of the residence of Sir George Page, where they were reviewed by His Majesty in presence of a vast concourse of spectators, and their fine appearance was universally admired; at the same time the most sanguine expectations were entertained of the future achievements of this distinguished corps on the field of battle.

On the 27th of July the regiment embarked at Gravesend, and arrived at Embden, in Germany, on the 1st of August. On the 3rd of that month the troops landed a few miles above the town, where they encamped until the morning of the 5th, when they commenced their march up the country, and joined the army commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick on the 17th. On the 20th the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS were reviewed, with several other corps, by his Serene Highness, who expressed his admiration of their condition after the march. They were not, however, engaged in any affair of importance during the remainder of the campaign; and they passed the winter in quarters in the bishopric of Osnaburg.

1759

The allies commenced operations early in the spring of 1759, and, having gained considerable advantage over the enemy in the country of Hesse, afterwards attacked (13th of April) the French army commanded by the Duke of Broglio in its position at *Bergen*. In this action the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS supported the attack of the infantry, and were subsequently brought forward to menace the enemy's front; but it was found impracticable to force the position, and during the following night the allies retired, nor were they enabled to make a stand against the superior numbers of the enemy for some time afterwards.

During this campaign the regiment was formed in brigade with the Scots Greys and Tenth Dragoons: and on the 17th of July it was encamped on Petershagen Heath, a few miles from *Minden*, and near the strong position occupied by the French army under the Duke de Broglio and Marshal Contades.

On the 29th of July the allies advanced and took post at Hillé, and the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS were encamped on the extreme right of the cavalry. Prince Ferdinand having, by several manœuvres, succeeded in drawing the French army from its strong post in front of *Minden*, a general engagement was fought on the 1st of August, when the valour of the British infantry decided the fortune of the day, and the

enemy, after a sharp contest, sustained a decisive defeat, with the loss of forty-three pieces of cannon, ten pair of colours, and seven standards. At the commencement of the action the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS were posted, with several other corps, under Lord George Sackville,^[46] behind a thick wood on the right of the army, and, although these troops were not brought forward in time to share in the conflict and glories of the day, yet they afterwards highly distinguished themselves in the pursuit of the enemy a distance of about two hundred miles, in which great difficulties were overcome, and several French corps were nearly annihilated.

The THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS took part in the several manœuvres and skirmishes of this campaign, which were continued throughout the year. In November the regiment was posted on the banks of the river Lahn, and it subsequently occupied cantonments near Osnaburg.

1760

In the spring of 1760 the enemy brought into the field an army of 100,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Broglie, with a separate corps under the Count de St. Germain; and so far outnumbered the allies, that the latter were obliged to act on the defensive. The THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS left their cantonments in the early part of May, arrived at Paderborn on the 12th, and on the 20th encamped on the heights near Fritzlar, where they were formed in brigade with the First and Second Dragoon Guards, under the command of Major-General Webb. The enemy, superior in numbers and situation, advanced against the allies, some skirmishing occurred, but Prince Ferdinand was ultimately obliged to retire. Leaving Fritzlar on the 24th of June, the allies proceeded in the direction of the Dymel, and on the 9th of July the main army took post on the heights of Brannau. On the same day the First and THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS were sent forward to Saxenhausen, to reinforce a separate body of troops commanded by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick.

On the 10th of July the Hereditary Prince marched towards *Corbach*, and when he approached that place he discovered a body of French troops formed upon the heights near the town. Imagining it was only the advanced guard of the Count de St. Germain's corps, his Highness determined to endeavour to dislodge them. The attack was accordingly made, and the intrepidity and firmness of the troops were conspicuous; but the enemy proved more numerous than was anticipated, and, being reinforced with fresh troops, it was found impossible to drive them from the advantageous post which they occupied, and a retreat was ordered. This was, however, rendered of difficult execution by the pressure of the enemy's advanced corps. Some disorder occurred. Several German regiments of infantry and cavalry were thrown into confusion, and the enemy, following up this advantage with a large body of dragoons and a numerous artillery, threatened the entire destruction of this portion of the allied army. At this critical moment the First and THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS were brought forward to undertake a service of great magnitude,—no less than to confront a torrent of superior and increasing numbers, and to drive back the victorious legions that were pouring down upon the allies,—a service which would at once attest the intrinsic worth of these corps; and their conduct proved their genuine bravery, and showed that the same valour, for which the corps had often been distinguished as the FOURTH HORSE, also glowed in the bosoms of the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS. The two regiments instantly confronted the foe, and conscious of their own power they dashed forward upon the foaming ranks of the enemy, and used their broad swords with dreadful execution. The torrent of battle was arrested. The pursuing squadrons were driven back, 'mangled with many a ghastly wound,' and the remainder of the army was enabled to make an undisturbed retreat.^[47] After driving back the enemy's squadrons the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS retired, and joined the main army, encamped at Saxenhausen, on the same evening.

The loss of the regiment on this proud occasion was thirty-five men and thirty-four horses; with one man and two horses wounded.^[48]

In consequence of some movements of the enemy Prince Ferdinand proceeded with the main body of the army towards Cassel, and on the 27th of July the troops encamped near Kalle. At the same time the Chevalier de Muy, who had succeeded the Count de St. Germain, having crossed the river Dymel with 35,000 men, and taken post on the heights near *Warbourg*, with a view of cutting off the communication of the allies with Westphalia, Prince Ferdinand resolved to attack him in this post. The attack commenced on the morning of the 31st of July, and the brigade of Dragoon Guards had another opportunity, which it did not suffer to pass, of distinguishing itself. The action had been maintained for a short time, although only a part of the allied army had reached the scene of conflict, and the English cavalry were a distance of five miles in the rear, but they advanced at great speed, at the same time preserving such order and regularity as enabled them to charge successfully the instant they arrived on the ground; and after driving the enemy's cavalry out of the field, they attacked the French infantry and chased them from the heights with prodigious slaughter. The town of Warbourg was carried. The Dragoon Guards, led by the Marquis of Granby,^[49] pressed forward in the pursuit, crossed the Dymel, and the THIRD DRAGOON GUARDS, after acquiring great honour in the fight and in the pursuit, encamped that night on the heights of Wilda.

The regiment only lost one man and five horses in this engagement, with eight men and three horses wounded.

Notwithstanding the signal bravery of the British troops, the enemy, by superior numbers, was enabled to gain possession of several important towns; and, on the advance of the main army under the Duke de Broglie, the Dragoon Guards left their advanced post at Wilda, repassed the Dymel, and joined the lines near Warbourg on the 3rd of August. During the remainder of the campaign many brilliant services were performed by the British troops and their allies. By secret and expeditious movements, by daring and rapid advances, and by sudden and unexpected attacks,

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